

voted against an amendment that would have denied employees of the new Department the same collective bargaining rights as other Federal workers.

It was months later that Max stood for reelection. Near the end of that race, there was an infamous ad that showed images of Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein and questioned Max's commitment to protect America.

How do you look at a man who has lost three limbs in war and struggled every day of his life to serve others and accuse him of not being willing to defend this country?

Max Cleland was one of six Vietnam veterans in the Senate at that time. All of his brothers in arms, including Republican Senators John McCain and Chuck Hagel, were furious about that ad. They raised enough hell to have that ad pulled. Sadly, the damage was done. Max lost his race for reelection. He called that loss "the second hand grenade" in his life.

In his 2009 memoir aimed at his fellow wounded veterans, he wrote: "My body, my soul, my spirit, and my belief in life itself was stolen from me by the disaster of the Vietnam War. I found solace in attempting to 'turn my pain into somebody else's gain' by immersing myself in politics and public service."

When his Senate years were over, he said: "I went down physically, mentally, emotionally, down into the deepest, darkest hole in my life. I had several moments when I just didn't want to continue to live."

The post-traumatic stress came roaring back into his life, and so 40 years after he first arrived there, Max returned to Walter Reed to try to mend not his body but his broken heart. It was connecting with other warriors that pulled him out of his despair.

I want to thank my Senate colleagues and especially my friend, former Majority Leader Harry Reid, for their commitment during that dark time. They helped him return to public service.

He was appointed to the 9/11 Commission and served for a short while before resigning to serve on the board of the U.S. Export-Import Bank. In 2009, President Obama chose Max to serve as Secretary of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

Last week, Max Cleland died at his home in Atlanta. His big heart finally succumbed. He was 79 years old.

On the same day he died, another veteran fighting the invisible wounds of war shot and killed himself at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. Air Force TSgt Kenneth Omar Santiago was only 31.

In a note posted on social media before he died, he wrote: "No one knows who is struggling and waging wars that the eye cannot see. What does chronic depression even look like?"

Max Cleland knew the answer to that question. If he had met Sergeant Santiago—or any of the 17 veterans

who die by suicide every single day in America—he would have told them what he said to himself every day: "Hold on. Seek help. Do not be afraid."

Max Cleland was a soldier, a patriot, and a friend. We can pay no better tribute to him than to honor his service and sacrifice and help those who continue to live with those visible and invisible wounds of war.

Farewell, Max. I will miss you.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF PRISONS REPORT

Madam President, on a completely different topic, earlier today, the inspector general at the Department of Justice released a stunning report. It found that the Federal Bureau of Prisons had failed to negotiate with the prison guard union for more than 20 months.

Think of that. The management of the Federal Bureau of Prisons failed to negotiate with the prison guard union for more than 20 months. This has led to a delay of more than 30 critical Bureau policies to help protect their staff and inmates.

That report was published just days after an investigation by the Associated Press, which concluded that the Bureau is "a hotbed of abuse, graft and corruption, and has turned a blind eye to employees accused of misconduct."

Both investigations confirm what we have known for a long time: the current Director of the Bureau of Prisons, Michael Carvajal, should no longer lead the Bureau of Prisons.

This morning, I publicly called on Attorney General Merrick Garland to replace Mr. Carvajal with a reform-minded Director who is not a product of that Bureau's bureaucracy.

Since Director Carvajal was appointed by former Attorney General Bill Barr in February 2020, we have witnessed a series of cascading failures that have endangered the lives of BOP inmates, as well as the correctional officers who work there.

Director Carvajal has failed to resolve chronic staffing shortages at the Bureau. He has failed to contain outbreaks of COVID-19 within our prisons. The COVID-19 infection rate in the Bureau of Prisons is six times what it is in the rest of the population.

He has failed to fully implement the reforms that the Members of this Senate enacted, including an overwhelmingly bipartisan First Step Act, signed into law by President Trump.

To take one example, under the First Step Act, low-risk inmates are eligible to receive earned time credits to reduce their sentences. They do this by completing programs designed to prevent them from committing another crime when they are released. The inspector general concluded that the Bureau of Prisons has not allowed any—any—time credits to be awarded because they have not finalized the policy nearly 3 years after the First Step Act was signed into law.

That act was a bipartisan measure. Senator GRASSLEY and I were the lead sponsors on it. And it was a measure,

as I mentioned, signed by President Trump. For 3 years, the Bureau of Prisons has done little or nothing to implement it.

Director Carvajal has also failed to prevent serious misconduct by his own employees. Some of these numbers are incredible. Since 2019, more than 100 Federal prison workers have been arrested, charged or convicted of crimes, including sexual abuse, murder, and introducing contraband into prison.

Altogether, these crimes account for two-thirds—let me say it again: two-thirds—of criminal cases against Department of Justice personnel, even though BOP employees comprise less than one-third of the DOJ's workforce.

There is no excuse for any further delay in dismissing Director Carvajal. It is time for Attorney General Garland to appoint new leadership to the Bureau that will address the crises he has created or allowed to exist and to take critical steps to reform our Federal prison system.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MEATPACKING INDUSTRY

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, as the meatpacking industry became increasingly concentrated in the 1990s, fewer animals were sold through negotiated purchases—or, you could say, you could call that cash purchases or you could call it the spot market.

In the 1990s, we saw increased use of alternative marketing arrangements that were not publicly disclosed under voluntary reporting. Livestock producers knew that these arrangements were not allowing them to get a fair market price for their livestock going to slaughter so they called for livestock mandatory reporting, also known as LMR. This new law would apply to packers who purchase livestock, process them, and market the meat.

When the livestock mandatory reporting legislation was first considered in 1998, it unfortunately didn't get very far. I want to read for you an article from March of 1999 because it is going to have some relationship to a similar issue that we hope to get before Congress before the end of the year, and that is a bipartisan piece of legislation I am referring to.

I want to read an article from March 1999, from the Southern Livestock Review. That article is entitled "How Campaign Money, Republican Lobbyists Killed Mandatory Price Reporting." I am going to read that article into the RECORD in its entirety, only I will not read names. I will refer to former Senators as Senator 1, 2, and 3, and I will refer to lobbyists' names as Lobbyist 1 and Lobbyist 2.